

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

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SAJ-01 AID-20 IGA-02 DRC-01 /178 W

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R 270830Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5443

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY KINSHAS

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1677

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PDEV, MZ, AO, PU, SE, CN, FT, OAU

SUBJ: AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE, FRELIMO, MPLA VIEWS ON
DEPENDENT AFRICA

REF: STATE 109696 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: THIS CABLE CONTAINS VARIETY OF VIEWS FROMAFRIC

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AN LIBERATION COMMITTEE (ALC) OFFICIALS, FRELIMO REP, AND MPLA

REP ON EVENTS IN PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES, SEYCHELLES, COMORO ISLANDS, AND FRENCH TERRITORY OF AFARS AND ISSAS AS RESULT EMB. POL. OFF. REPRESENTING EMBASSY AT ALC RECEPTION IN HONOR OF AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY. ONE THEME EMERGED IN DISCUSSIONS: ALC AND LIBERATION GROUP PERSONNEL ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO REFERENDA IN DEPENDENT AREAS AS WAY OF DETERMINING WHETHER PEOPLE WANT INDEPENDENCE OR NOT. OFFICIALS CITE BASICALLY THREE REASONS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR OPPOSITION TO REFERENDA. END SUMMARY.

1. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF ALC, HASHIM MBITA, HELD COUPE DE CHAMPAGNE MAY 25 IN COMMEMORATION OF AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY. EMB. POL. OFF. REPRESENTED EMBASSY AT RECEPTION AND CONTINUING DISCUSSION IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS WITH TOP LEADERSHIP OF ALC (AWSO ATTENDED BY FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICER PHILIPPE ENTIEN). FOLLOWING POTPOURRI REPRESENTS COMMENTS BY FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS: FRELIMO VICE PRESIDENT MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, MPLA REP. MBINGA, ALC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MBITA (TANZANIAN), ALC ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR GENERAL POLICY AND INFORMATION LABAN OYAKA (UGANDAN), ALC ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR DEFENSE AHMED M. SIDKY (EGYPTIAN), ALC ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE MOH. LAMEEN METTEDEN (NIGERIAN), ALC INFORMATION ATTACHE JEAN L. BITCHOKA (CAMEROUNIAN), AND ALC MILITARY ADVISOR CAPT. MWISONGO (TANZANIAN).

2. VIEWS ON REFERENDUM IN MOZAMBIQUE. IN COURSE OF EMB. OFFICER'S INTRODUCTION TO DOS SANTOS, THE FRELIMO VP JOGULARLY RESPONDED THAT HE WAS JUST ABOUT TO SAY "PLEASED TO MEET YOU" UNTIL THE INTRODUCER SAID "FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY". DOS SANTOS, AT FIRST RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN CONVERSATION, ULTIMATELY TOOK PART IN ANIMATED DEBATE, ALSO PARTICIPATED IN BY GENTEN AND OYAKA, CONCERNING FRELIMO REFUSAL TO GO ALONG WITH REFERENDUM IN MOZAMBIQUE. DOS SANTOS ARGUED THAT IT IS RIDICULOUS TO ASK PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE IF "THEY WANT TO BE FREE OR NOT: OF COURSE THEY WANT TO BE FREE". PORTUGAL MUST AGREE TO PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR MOZAMBIQUE AND OTHER TERRITORIES. THEN FRELIMO CAN NEGOTIATE MECHANISM OF INDEPENDENCE. DOS SANTOS WAS ABSOLUTELY ADAMANT THAT REFERENDUM WOULD SERVE NO USEFUL PURPOSE. FRELIMO IS CONVINCED MOZAMBIQUE WOULD VOTE FOR INDEPENDENCE. SINCE SUCH VOTE WOULD CLEAR THE AIR IN TERMS OF WORLD OPINION AND COST FRELIMO NOTHING OTHER THAN

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LOSS OF TIME, EMB. OFF. ASKED DOS SANTOS WHY FRELIMO IS UNWILLING TO GO THROUGH EXERCISE. HE THEN COUNTERED IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE FAIR REFERENDUM IN TERRITORY WHERE INFLUENCE OF PIDE AND GDS IS STILL SO INFLUENTIAL. DOS SANTOS WAS, HOWEVER, OPTIMISTIC THAT FRELIMO WILL GET WHAT IT WANTS WITHOUT RESORT TO REFERENDUM.

3. US-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS. DOS SANTOS EMPHASIZED AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR PORTUGAL AND EXPRESSED BELIEF THIS SUPPORT DUE PRIMARILY TO

AZORES BASE. WHEN EMB. OFF. MENTIONED IMPORTANCE OF NATO ALLIANCE, DOS SANTOS OPINED THIS IS NO LONGER MAJOR FACTOR IN US-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS SINCE SOME OF NATO MEMBERS THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN CRITICAL OF PORTUGUESE POLICY IN AFRICA. DOS SANTOS, WHO HAS REPUTATION FOR BEING PARTICULARLY HARSH TOWARDS USG, CONCLUDED THAT GAP BETWEEN FRELIMO AND US IS STILL VERY WIDE, ILLUSTRATING POINT BY EXTENDING HIS ARMS AS FAR AS HE COULD.

4. INSIDE MOZAMBIQUE. SIDKY, SUPPORTED BY BITCHOKA, INSISTED THAT PORTUGUESE MUST DEAL WITH FRELIMO. HE DISMISSED OUT OF HAND COREMO (INEFFECTIVE), GUMO (CREATION OF PIDE), AND FICO (FEW WHITE SETTLERS). HE SAID ONLY FRELIMO CAN SERVE AS BARGAINING AGENT WITH PORTUGUESE AFTER PORTUGAL AGREES TO PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE. HE COMMENTED THAT FRELIMO IS IN CONTACT WITH COREMO, GUMO, AND FICO PERSONNEL. SIDKY SAID MAJOR QUESTION IN MOZAMBIQUE IS NOT POSITION OF COREMO, GUMO, FICO AND SUCH OTHER MEANINGLESS GROUPS BUT RATHER LOYALTY AND VIEWS OF SOME 40,000 BLACK MOZAMBICANS IN PORTUGUESE ARMY. THIS, HE SAID, IS BIG QUESTION, ADDING THAT FRELIMO HAS MADE CONTACT WITH SOME OF THEM. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, SIDKY AND BITCHOKA INSISTED THAT FRELIMO STANDS FOR MULTIRACIAL GOVERNMENT AFTER INDEPENDENCE. BECOMING QUITE ANGRY, SIDKY SAID RECENT KILLING OF WHITE PORTUGUESE WOMAN IN VILA PEREIRA WAS NOT ACT OF FRELIMO AS ALLEGED BY PORTUGUESE, BUT RATHER DONE BY PIDE TO DISCREDIT FRELIMO. SIDKY INSISTED FRELIMO HAS HARD EVIDENCE TO THIS EFFECT. RESPONDING TO QUESTION, SIDKY THOUGHT JORGE JARDIM FACES VERY DIFFICULT FUTURE AND MAY EVEN END UP IN PRISON.

5. INSIDE ANGOLA. MPLA REP. MBINGA EXUDED OPTIMISM OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA. HE SAID PORTUGUESE HAVE PUT DOWN THEIR ARMS EVEN THOUGH MPLA HAS NOT DONE SO. MBINGA IS CONVINCED THAT, OF THREE ANGOLAN LIBERATION GROUPS, MPLA HAS WIDEST FOLLOWING IN ANGOLA. HE SAID MPLA SUPPORT IS PARTICULARLY STRONG IN TOWNS AND

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CITIES. HE THOUGHT MPLA WOULD SOON BE ABLE TO RESOLVE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH FNLA, BUT HE EITHER DID NOT KNOW OR WAS UNWILLING TO SAY WHERE MPLA PRESIDENT NETO IS NOW LOCATED. HASHIM MBITA, IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION AS TO WHOM PORTUGUESE SHOULD NEGOTIATE WITH IN ANGOLA, REPLIED PORTUGAL SHOULD TALK WITH LIBERATION GROUPS RECOGNIZED BY OAU. WHEN IT WAS NOTED THAT THIS LEAVES OUT UNITA, MBITA SAID THAT IS NOT REALLY A PROBLEM AS UNITA, ALTHOUGH NOT RECOGNIZED BY OAU, IS ACCEPTABLE TO OAU. HE IMPLIED UNITA MAY SOON BE RECOGNIZED BY OAU. ALC OFFICIALS GENERALLY AGREED THAT MPLA HAS MORE SUPPORT IN ANGOLA THAN EITHER FNLA OR UNITA.

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SAJ-01 AID-20 IGA-02 DRC-01 /178 W

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R 270830Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5444

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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6. COMORO ISLANDS AND TFAI. OYAKA HAD LIVELY DISCUSSION WITH GENTEN, ARGUING THAT FRENCH ARE TRYING TO KEEP INDEPENDENCE FROM COMORO ISLANDS AND FRENCH TERRITORY OF AFARS AND ISSAS (TFAI). OYAKA SAID REFERENDUM IN TFAI AND ELECTIONS IN COMOROS WERE SHAM AFFAIRS CONTROLLED BY FRENCH GOVERNMENT. AT SAME TIME, HE SAID TFAI LIBERATION GROUPS WERE BIG DISAPPOINTMENTS. HE CITED SITUATION IN COMOROS AND TFAI AS EVIDENCE WHY REFERENDA ARE OUT OF QUESTION IN DETERMINING FUTURE OF REMAINING MINORITY-CONTROLLED OR COLONIAL

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AREAS. IN CASE OF COMOROS, GENTEN DEFENDED ELECTIONS, ADDING THAT PEOPLE OF MAYOTTE, ONE OF FOUR MAJOR ISLANDS, APPARENTLY DO NOT WANT INDEPENDENCE. OYAKA SCOFFED, ASKING HOW CAN YOU SEPARATE ONE OF ISLANDS FROM OTHERS. OYAKA ALSO THOUGHT PRESENT COMORIAN GOVERNMENT IS UNDER THUMB OF FRENCH.

7. SEYCHELLES. MBITA, SUPPORTED BY METTEDEN, CONCENTRATED ON SITUATION IN SEYCHELLES, ARGUING THAT RECENT ELECTION THERE WAS PHONY. HE SAID IN 1970, SEYCHELLES PEOPLES UNITED PARTY (SPUP), F.A. RENE'S OPPOSITION PARTY, RECEIVED 42 PERCENT OF VOTE AND 5 OF 15 COUNCIL SEATS. IN RECENT ELECTION SPUP RECEIVED 47 PERCENT OF VOTE AND ONLY 2 COUNCIL SEATS. HE ASKED HOW CAN THIS HAPPEN IN FAIR ELECTION? FURTHERMORE, HE SAID MANCHAM'S SEYCHELLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP) WON ONLY BECAUSE IT CAME OUT IN FAVOR OF INDEPENDENCE SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE ELECTION. WHEN ASKED, NOW THAT SDP HAS AGREED TO INDEPENDENCE, WHETHER ALC WOULD SUPPORT SDP, MBITA SAID IT WOULD IF MANCHAM SHOWS THAT CALL FOR INDEPENDENCE IS NOT JUST CHEAP ELECTION TRICK. HE SAID MANCHAM MUST NOW PUT FORTH "ACCEPTABLE TIMETABLE" FOR INDEPENDENCE. IF THIS HAPPENS, ALC CAN ACCEPT CHANGED SITUATION IN SEYCHELLES.

8. COMMENT: ONE THING STOOD OUT IN THESE DISCUSSIONS. IT IS UNANIMOUSLY AGREED THAT METHOD OF RESOLVING SITUATION IN MINORITY-CONTROLLED AND COLONIAL AREAS, PARTICULARLY PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, SHOULD NOT BE BY REFERENDA. (IT WAS NEVER SUGGESTED, OF COURSE, THAT PRO-INDEPENDENCE FORCES MIGHT LOSE FAIR REFERENDUM). ALC AND LIBERATION GROUP PERSONNEL HAVE BASICALLY THREE PROBLEMS WITH IDEA OF REFERENDA: (A) THEY ARE SEEN IN CONTEXT OF VOTE FOR IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OR CONTINUATION OF STATUS QUO. THEY VIEW THIS AS NONSENSICAL AS IT IS OBVIOUS VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE WANT INDEPENDENCE. WHAT THEY ARE NOT CONSIDERING IS POSSIBILITY OF VOTE FOR IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL INDEPENDENCE VERSUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THREE-YEAR PERIOD OF INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THEN COMPLETE AND TOTAL INDEPENDENCE. (B) THERE IS GENERAL SKEPTICISM WHETHER ANY REFERENDUM COULD BE HELD FAIRLY. IN CASE OF PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, SINCE PORTUGAL WOULD PROBABLY BE IN CONTROL OF DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BEFORE VOTE AND MACHINERY FOR TAKING VOTE, THEY BELIEVE REFERENDA WOULD NECESSARILY BE RIGGED. (C) FINALLY, THERE IS REAL CONCERN OVER MUSHROOMING OF GROUPS SUCH AS GUMO AND FIO WHICH CLAIM TO REPRESENT VIEWS OF PEOPLE. ALC PERSONNEL ARE CONVINCED THESE GROUPS, WHICH ARE BOUND TO INCREASE CONFIDENTIAL

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IN NUMBER, WOULD BE MANIPULATED BY ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT IN RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES. (FRELIMO ARGUES IT IS ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT IN PARTS OF MOZAMBIQUE AND, THEREFORE, REFERENDUM HAS IN EFFECT ALREADY BEEN TAKEN THERE). KEY TO SITUATION IN PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, AS FAR AS ALC, FRELIMO, AND MPLA ARE CONCERNED, IS

ACCEPTANCE BY PORTUGAL OF PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR
THESE AREAS. ONCE THIS IS DONE, THEN "LIBERATION GROUPS RECOGNIZED
BY OAU" CAN TALK TURKEY WITH PORTUGAL.
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